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ABSTRACT

Presented in this document is a cross-cultural study dealing with the role socialization, self perceptions, and aspiration levels of over 200 women of both Anglo Saxon and Indian origins living in Ontario, Canada. These dimensions are explored within the context of selected cultural, religious, and philosophical variables. Some of the factors examined are male-female relationships, the influence Hindu concepts have had on the Indian woman's life, and role perceptions held by Indian women which have changed from the strong traditional family orientation to a more liberated view. The change in role perceptions is further discussed in terms of changes in the achievement aspirations, self-concept, and self identity of the Indian woman. Data is provided to show that the resolution of the Indian woman's dilemma between her own aspirations and the realities of her situation in marriage resembles the pattern of experience of many Western women. A brief overview of Canadian attitudes toward Indian women is provided. Data of the survey are analyzed in determining the Indian woman's potential contribution to Canadian society. Recommendations are made for increasing and accelerating the realization of this potential. A reference list and numerous statistical tables are included. (Author/EB)

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The East Indian Woman: Her Potential Contribution to Canadian Society: Recommendations

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Introductory Comments: At this critical point in the history of Canadian unity, the fullest participation and active commitment of all segments of the population to Canada, Canadian institutions, Canadian society and culture, is an issue of urgent dimensions. Many women of Indian origin now living in Canada are engaged in productive roles in this country and among Canadian people; but many more can, and should be attracted to fuller involvement in the larger society. My address today covers three items. It:

(i) examines briefly the Indian woman's place in traditional perspective

(ii) reports empirical findings related to the Indian woman's self-perceptions, based on an in-depth survey of over 200 women of Indian and Anglo-Saxon origin living in Ontario, Canada, matched by residential location* (see Tables 1 & 2)

(iii) analyzes the reported data in the context of the question: What is the potential contribution of Indian women to Canadian society? and recommends ways of increasing and accelerating the realization of this potential.

The objectives of this Conference, I understand, are to make frank appraisal of the Indian community, to look at the collective potential of this community, to "recharge our own batteries" by boosting morale, and to critically assess our role in, and our contribution to this country. I have approached my address in this light. Tables of data illustrating findings and interpretations presented in this address will be made available in the workshop entitled: Indian women in Canadian Society. Questions about the research and alternate interpretations of findings will also be handled at that time.

* Generalizations about East Indians in Canada or the basis of this research should be very cautious, until further studies have been conducted indicating that such generalizations are warranted.

Cities in which the research was conducted are unidentified to respect complete anonymity of participants.

The Indian Woman in Traditional Perspective:

"Woman is pure and noble." Traditional India has always accorded woman a high place, and indeed equality. "Man and woman are the two wheels of a cart...man and woman are the two halves of a whole." Equality meant equal but different, and the complementary nature of male and female elements was stressed in theory and practice in the ancient thinking of India (Cormack, 1969). The male-female concept "in the spirit of the Vedas" has suffered neglect and corruption over the centuries in India--the complementary "idea" has been worshipped, says Margaret Cormack, American social scientist and scholar of Indian culture, the "real" has been neglected. Complementariness has usually involved the assumption of male superiority and the subjection of women. Empirical evidence for this contention was identified in the present study. Respondents, whether of Hindu, Muslim, or Christian background, asserted that the male-female relationship as they understood and experienced it within the broader Indian cultural context ranged from "different and equal" to "different and male superior" (or "different and female inferior"). However, a considerable proportion of the women (47.6%) claimed that in actual practice a "different but equal" relationship between males and females influenced their lives most. The meaning of the word "woman" in the Indian culture was perceived as distinctly "kind", "clean", "useful"; but it was also perceived as distinctly "inferior", and only somewhat "good" and "wise" on scales of bipolar adjective opposites, such as: "good-bad", "inferior-superior", "wise-foolish", etc.

Traditionally three concepts of Hindu thought influenced the Indian woman's life: Karma (fate, will of God, will of Allah), Dharma (doing one's duty according to the rules of one's religion), and Varna (doing one's duty according to caste function). The data revealed that the concepts of Karma and Dharma influenced the women's lives "strongly or very strongly" in 57.1% and 62.9% of the cases respectively; the concept of Varna had "little influence". Deities, saints,

prophets, as models for emulation in the women's lives, had a "strong influence" only on a small minority of women (18.1%).

Role Perceptions:

The advent of the women's "liberation movement" in the western world triggered off a series of studies revolving about the age-old question of what kinds of behaviours are socially appropriate for men and women. An extensive survey of how ideology shapes women's lives conducted by American sociologist, Jean Lipman-Blumen, published in the Scientific American, January, 1972, attracted my attention. Perhaps not surprisingly, she reported that the sex-role ideology, i.e., the system of beliefs regarding the appropriate behaviour of women with respect to men, acquired during childhood and adolescence guided the adult woman's self perceptions, life goals, educational and occupational aspirations. The Lipman-Blumen study was conducted on the wives of graduate students in the Boston area. In her study 27% of the women adhered to a category she labelled "traditional" ideology and 73% held a "contemporary" ideology. According to the traditional view the female role revolves about the belief that a woman's primary responsibilities are home-making and child rearing, men are responsible for financial support of family, women with children should not expect to have a career. The contemporary view is based on the belief that women should be as free as men to pursue educational and occupational goals, that men and women should share equally in responsibilities inside and outside the home.

Similar questions have rarely been asked of immigrant women of non-western origin, living on the North American continent. The present study posed the questions: How does the contemporary Indian woman view herself? What are her beliefs about role division in the home, male dominance, responsibility for children and household chores, women's education and work outside the home? What would she like to accomplish in her life, and how do these aspirations

differ from those of women in her family in the home country?

The picture of the Indian woman's role perceptions emerging from this study is more complex than findings reported by Lipman-Blumen for the American sample. Specifically, the women's beliefs about their role in life show a complementary interaction between traditional and contemporary expectations for women. Thus the data reveal a slight belief in role division and male protection, but a strong belief that the responsibility for household chores should be shared even where a woman works outside the home primarily for her own fulfillment, rather than to supplement the family income (79.0%). The resistance to sole responsibility for household chores may be understood in the context that 72.2% of the respondents report that their mothers had domestic help, 50.0% had full-time help. Respondents, therefore, came from homes in which women were largely freed from the heavier domestic role that characterizes the woman's role in North American culture. Further, the data show a strong belief in the woman's ability, and in opportunity for education and careers for married women, even where they have children (82.0%). Respondents felt that women were capable of assuming positions over men, making their own decisions about voting, and sharing equally in decision-making in the family. However, the respondents show a decided traditional note with regard to children. There is considerable feeling that the natural mother is best for the child, that a mother with young children should not work outside the home, and a strong belief that even good day care centres cannot take the place of the mother in caring for the child (77.1%). On the somewhat humorous side, 87.6% believe that a man is not justified in marrying a second time should a woman fail to produce a child, nor do they believe as Indian women once did, that the ideal woman is "obedient" first to her father, then to her husband, and then to her sons. However, 65.8% do feel that women should maintain a physically attractive appearance for males (see Table 3).

Sense of Accomplishment:

Lipman-Blumen (1972) defines three categories of mode of achievement adopted by women in her study: direct, balanced, and vicarious. Women who prefer the direct mode tend to satisfy their achievement needs predominantly through their own efforts, those who choose the balanced mode place an equal weight on their husband's accomplishments and on their own; and those who choose the vicarious mode fulfill their achievement needs predominantly through the accomplishments of their husbands.

Lipman-Blumen, on the basis of her study on graduate student wives, presents data which indicates that the direct mode of achievement was preferred by one-third of the women who shared a contemporary view of life, whereas it was preferred by only one-sixth of the women with the traditional viewpoint of life. As might be expected, 76% of those women with the traditional ideology compared to 54% of those with the contemporary viewpoint adhered to the vicarious mode of achievement. It is interesting to note with reference to this study, that relatively few women seemed to prefer the balanced mode of achievement in which the accomplishments of both husband and wife carry equal weight (16% contemporary, and 7% traditional).

As already discussed, in terms of role perceptions the nature of the sample tested appears to be complementary, reflecting a combination of traditional and contemporary characteristics. Following the Lipman-Blumen procedure, questions pertaining to the respondents' sense of accomplishment outside the home were posed and an attempt was made to trace the development of their sense of achievement aspiration from home to host country.

Most Indian women choose the vacarious mode of achievement (52.4%), i.e., their sense of accomplishment outside their home is mostly fulfilled by the husband's achievements, but they do express a need to accomplish something on their own. 26.7% chose the balanced mode of achievement, i.e., their sense of

accomplishment is fulfilled only when both husband and wife accomplish equally, and a sizeable minority (13.4%) chose the direct mode, i.e., they feel fulfilled mostly by their own achievements, though they also need to feel that the husband is accomplishing something. Only a few respondents chose the extremely contemporaneous position, i.e., fulfilment completely on the basis of one's own outside activities (2.9%). (See Table 4).

Changes in Achievement Aspirations:

An attempt was made to examine evolution and changes in the women's sense of achievement. In response to appropriate questions, respondents maintained that the sense of achievement generally shown by women in the family circle in India was traditional--related to roles as mother, wife, home arts, some outside activities. However, the sense of achivement encouraged in respondents by their parents moved from traditional to balanced-contemporary, with a clear component related to seeking higher education, a career or stable occupation, earning money and status. This pattern is endorsed by the women as the sense of achievement they experienced most of their lives.

A further change is reported on coming to Canada and in their present lives. The women find that their present sense of achievement is traditional and homebound with some outside activities. They feel this is common to other Indian women in Canada of their acquaintance. Dissatisfaction with this situation is revealed in questions probing the sense of achievement the women want for themselves, think is the most satisfying, and encourage in their daughters. The data show clearly that the women want a more balanced sense of achievement for themselves, in which they may achieve at activities of equal weight inside and outside the home. They view the balanced mode as ideal for a woman and as something most Indian women in Canada would like for themselves. Moreover, they encourage this balanced sense of achievement in their daughters. To

appropriate inquiries, 70.4% say they day-dream about playing another role in life or achieving something more, and 28.6% give as the major frustration in their present role, the description "cannot pursue creative activity of my own outside the home". But, in spite of their aspirations and feelings of discontent at not attaining these aspirations, most respondents fulfill their sense of accomplishment in the traditional vicarious mode through the accomplishments of their husbands. Further, most respondents (78.1%) claim they are satisfied with their roles--ranging from mostly in the home (one-third of the sample), part-time work/outside activities (one-third of the sample) or full-time work outside the home (one-third sample). Seemingly, then, these women experience much the same submerged internal dilemma of many of their western counterparts. They would really like a fuller sense of achievement for themselves, but most settle for less, and mostly slip into a vicarious mode of fulfilment through their husband's accomplishments.

While this resolution of the woman's dilemma between her own aspirations and the realities of her situation in the marriage setting resembles the pattern of experience of many western women, most respondents claimed (45.8% versus 20.0% of those responding) that western views about the place of men and women in the natural order had not influenced their lives. In fact, more than half the sample stated they were unaware of women's liberation movements in the west during adolescence (56.2% versus 30.5%). Western influences, of course, may be subtle and pervasive. Respondents who were aware of women's movements in the west, in general, viewed these favourably. Most respondents now view such movements and events such as International Women's Year favourably.

Self-concept and Self-identity:

In traditional Indian thinking, the ideal woman was selfless, gentle, devoted, retiring, loyal, obedient-characteristics symbolized in the figure of Sita, devoted wife of Rama, and acted out in extreme acts of loyalty as

embodied in the ancient practice of "suttee". But as we have seen the data reinforce naturalistic observations that the contemporary Indian woman has experienced change and acculturation both to forces within India and in the western world, though she may not always be alert to the impact of these forces.

Insight into the woman's self-concept and self-identity was gleaned from a series of measures which probed questions such as: Who am I? How do I view my real self? What would I like to be ideally? What attitudes do I have toward myself?

Overall, respondents display a high level of self-esteem. They express a positive, confident attitude toward the self, they feel they are people of worth, with good qualities, capable of doing things as well as others. However, there were areas in which lower self-esteem was expressed. Specifically, a fair proportion of respondents express a degree of dissatisfaction with the self, they would like more respect for the self, they feel "useless" or "no good" at times. The perception of the "real self" is also generally positive. The women see themselves as good, happy, wise, etc. Descriptive terms selected by the women which are at variance with Canadian perceptions of them as will be discussed later in this paper, are, for example, the description "friendly". Indian women see themselves as "friendly" but, in fact, do not "come across" in this way to Canadians. In addition, the women see themselves as feminine, soft, cautious, lenient, but "strong". In the North American context, being "strong" is more likely to be linked with traits of hard, masculine, severe, adventurous. From the perspective of how Indian women "come across" to Canadians, their traditional softness, femininity, and cautious manner, which they recognize in themselves, are more likely to be linked with the trait "weak".

Adjectives chosen discribing the "ideal self" seemed somewhat unrealistic. Respondents said that ideally they would like to be: very important, very valuable, very feminine, very cautious, very superior! I view these responses

as "true" rather than as an indication of the response set, i.e., the tendency of respondents to place checkmarks at the extreme ends of scales defined by bipolar adjectives, because steps had been taken to control for this tendency. If we think about the meaning of these traits, wanting to be "very" superior, cautious, feminine, in the more egalitarian, competitive, and aggressive North American culture may well generate inappropriate behaviours, unrealistic aspirations, and a less acceptable image in this culture.

When confronted with the question, "Who am I", respondents initial reactions were uncertain, reticent, expressions of being "at a loss" to verbalize their insights about the inner self, Most respondents seemingly seldom reflected on this question, possibly because of immediate environmental demands on them, or because they are culturally not "tuned" to probing the self and the meaning of their lives. Seemingly, they incorporate life events as they occur, adjust and "flow" with these events. However, once respondents felt at ease, they responded more readily and even with enthusiasm. Overall, descriptions were simple, concrete and straight forward. A content analysis of a random sampling of responses (N = 25, total N = 105) reveals the pattern described below:

To the cue phrase, "I have", primary focus centred on the family: I have small children, good children, a good understanding husband, a happy life in the family; there was little focus on material possessions.

To the cue phrase, "I am", responses revolved about the home and family (I am a wife, mother, good wife and mother), on the self as "woman", on personality traits possessed, balanced between desirable and undesirable traits (I am kind, nice, sincere, unselfish, intelligent, happy, versus I am impatient, get annoyed, like to gossip, have a bad memory) and frequent mention was made of skills, training, education, professions (I am a teacher, artist, nurse, doctor, typist, etc.)

To the cue phrase: "I want" three major emphases emerge: (i) a good education, success, high achievement for children, (ii) realization of the woman's potential more knowledge, education, (iii) a happy life, peace, contentment for family and self and (iv) making a good impact on Canadians, embodied in statements such as: prove I'm a Canadian, remove discrimination, share old civilization of India, show Indians are not underdeveloped, understand ethnic groups in Canada. To the cue phrase, "My goals are" and "I would like to be", responses elicited were: (i) further education, learning English, careers, e.g., teaching, social work, (ii) a happy life, being a good wife and mother, (iii) helping others, serving the community, doing volunteer work, doing something for the world and the poor. Several "mentions" were made about religious values and the importance of these values for children ("I have devotion to God", "show Canadians that because of Karma we are all here"). There were a few "mentions" of wanting to return to India.

(See Table 5)

The social psychologist is always concerned about the authenticity of interviewees' responses to questions that may tend to elicit responses that are socially desirable in the culture, i.e., the tendency to present oneself in favourable light. The data reveal two major trends in the check for this concern. (i) judgments that related to the respondent herself were not contaminated by the social desirability tendency, i.e., respondents were willing to admit, for example, that they gossip at times, may have felt like telling others off, have found it difficult to get along with loud mouthed people. That is, respondents were willing to admit to private feelings that may not materialize in overt behaviours. (ii) judgments that related to interactions with others, however, seemed to elicit more socially desirable responses, at least from a western perspective. Thus, respondents say they

never hesitate to help someone in trouble, they have never disliked anyone, they would never go to a movie without paying for it, they are always careful about their appearance.

Canadian Perceptions of Indian Women:

Through the cooperation of students in my classes, 79 Canadians (students and non-students - mainly white collar workers, a few professionals, and housewives) most of whom reported occasional contact with Indians/Pakistanis, responded to a brief questionnaire relating to their perceptions of Indian women. The following three questions were posed: How do East Indian/Parkistani women you have observed or encountered "come across" to you? What do you like about them and what do you dislike about them? Canadian perceptions of Indian women ranged from statements that were clearly favourable or unfavourable, to combined favourable and unfavourable impressions, to non-judgmental, non-committal type statements. Examples of positive, liked characteristics pertained to the Indian woman's beauty, grace, intelligence, femininity, mystique, self-control. Negative adjectives used describing disliked characteristics were: dirty, greasy, smelly. Only a minority of the respondents liked Indian women wearing their traditional dress (the correct label for the Indian dress, "sari" was not used at all) and then only on special occasions. The "tikka" (dot) on the Hindu woman's forehead was not liked. One respondent wrote: "we are all equal here", others wrote: "if in Canada dress as Canadians". (Incidentally, I may add, that these negative reactions to the sari are experienced by Indian women in other parts of the world. I recall that in South Africa, where I was born and raised, Indian women in sari were often rudely addressed as "Mary" by white South Africans, rather than by their correct names, because of the resemblance of the sari to the dress worn by Mary, the mother of Christ!). There was strong dislike too, of Indians speaking their home languages. Again, the feeling expressed

was that Indians should speak English if they live in Canada. Several respondents experienced Indian women as pushy, rude, abrupt, out of touch with Canadian culture, ignorant of Canadian customs, unwilling to change.

Examples of combined favourable-unfavourable impressions are as follows: Canadians tended to like the Indian woman's quiet, shy, polite manner, but this liking moved to perceiving her as cold, aloof, unfriendly. A small percentage of the respondents commented thus: "they think they are better than anyone else, snobbish, arrogant." Further, while they tended to like the Indian woman's commitment to her husband and children, they disliked what they described as her submission to her husband, her place behind a man, her subservience. Several Canadians said there was nothing they liked or disliked about Indian women; Canadian males had almost no contact with them. A few people said they had no basis for making judgments about Indian women because of lack of contact, a few refused to generalize from limited contact, and a few said "they are human like us; when you get to know them, they have a hidden warmth, commitment to friends, hospitality. (See Table 6)

Achievement Aspirations:

As is commonly recognized in Protestant societies, hard work and the pursuit of success became moral ideals and many analysts contend that it is these moral ideals that led to the economic accomplishments of the Protestant societies. Given this hard work-success oriented climate, why is it that the female sector of North American society is besieged by a condition described and documented by American psychologist, Matina Horner, as "fear of success"? i.e., Why is it that girls in North American society experience anxiety about achieving because they expect unfavourable consequences arising from success, such as: fear of losing friends, not finding a marriage partner, fear of becoming lonely, isolated, unhappy, because of success.

Horner used a story telling imagery technique to elicit achievement responses from American female college students. Her content analyses of these data revealed that even girls who were competing successfully at college, displayed fear of social rejection, concern about their femininity/normality and indeed their stories revealed denial of success.

In general, coverage of achievement motivation in women is limited; even less research has been conducted on cross-cultural samples. The present study utilized Horner's story-telling method to probe the nature of achievement motivation in Indian women. Participants were asked to tell a story about the following situation: After first term finals, Anne finds herself at the top of her medical school class. The themes in the stories were analyzed using Horner's categories. This analysis revealed that there was no anxiety connected with the expectation of success nor did respondents feel that success would result in social rejection or loss of femininity/normality. Rather, success was viewed as bringing happiness to the individual involved, as well as to her family, a bright and continued career is predicted, and potential contributions to the society are envisioned.

The story-telling analysis of achievement was augmented with tests of achievement attitudes, aspirations for the women themselves, and for their daughters. In the achievement attitudes' test (Mehrabian, 1968) the respondents were asked to indicate their preference for one of two settings or experiences. A higher level of achievement orientation is inherent in one of the two choices. Thus, for example, agreement with the following statement indicates high achievement: At school/college I would think more about getting a good grade, than worry about getting a bad grade. Agreement with the statement, i.e., focussing on getting a good grade indicates higher achievement orientation than disagreement with the statement, which focusses on worrying about getting a bad grade.

Overall, the respondents exhibit a high achievement orientation. Thus, for example, at school they would focus more on getting a good grade, than worry about getting bad grades. They think of the future rather than the past or present; they would rather take total responsibility for a group's activities than share in the decision-making process; they think it very important to do a job well, even if this means not getting on with co-workers, etc. Further, the respondents claimed that they would take advantage of opportunities for higher education and careers for themselves should openings in the community be made available, and that they would be willing to help in the promotional work entailed. Finally, they indicated that they think "very often or occasionally" about education and careers for their daughters for whom they have high aspirations; most people choosing the doctoral level (31.4% of 50.5% responding), in particular, a medical career (26.7% of 54.3%) for their daughters. (See Table 7)

Analysis, Reflections and Recommendations:

What factors in the Indian woman's perception of herself, her sense of identity, and her status in the Canadian context facilitate or hinder her potential contribution to Canadian society?

Certain clear trends in the data I have reported can be identified:

(i) A deep concern about the home and family, a distinct family-orientedness. I suggest that the strong supportive home life the Indian woman assists in creating is also a solid "building block" for the larger society.

(ii) High achievement motivation, high educational and career aspirations for herself and her family, negligible experience of "fear of success". I suggest that high achievement motivation and aspirations will promote the upward mobility of the Indian family in this country; in time creative contributions will emerge.

(iii) A positive self-concept and self-identity that relates not only to home and family, but also to concerns beyond the self and home to others and the larger community. I suggest that with time and the surmounting of "survival" problems that many people are experiencing as new Canadians, Indian women will become more visible participants in the larger society.

(iv) A degree of dissatisfaction with the lack of opportunity to explore a more creative and balanced mode of accomplishment, but an acceptance of a vicarious sense of accomplishment, i.e., deriving satisfaction largely through the husband's achievements. I suggest that if Indian women want to explore a more challenging and creative life as the data seem to indicate, then attention must be given to developing those skills and traits of independence which will promote this endeavour.

(v) Certain behaviors tend to alienate Indian women from Canadians, e.g., reserve and "privacy" may be perceived as unfriendly, behaviors in relation to husband and other males in the family may be interpreted as subservient, traditional style of dress, usage of home languages in public or "in company" may become irritants for Canadians. The onus rests on both Indian men and women to examine their behaviors and the values associated with these behaviors to determine the comprises they may wish to make (or not make) with regard to external expressions of "differentness". In the dynamics of social perception, the visibility factor--whether physical (i.e., different skin colour, eye or hair type, etc.) or behavioural (i.e., different dress, social customs, etiquette, etc.) tends to create social contrast effects, i.e., the differences are exaggerated, and socially distant relationships may arise.

(vi) Beliefs such as Karma and Dharma may not serve the woman's best interests in this country as they encourage an "accepting" attitude toward life

which is at variance with the "conquest-mastery" attitude prevailing in North American culture. Again, I suggest that the onus rests on Indian people to examine traditional beliefs and values, and to consider modifying (or not) those values that are likely to generate conflict in the host country.

Indian Self-Support Systems:

Indian women, in general, have been socialized in a protected and sheltered environment (Naidoo, 1976). Many do not possess the skills and traits for coping with the expectations of North American society, even where the women have a high level of formal education. One well educated young woman said to me: "I was too frightened to speak when I first came here". Another said: "I was frightened to shake hands with our Canadian neighbour (male) when he extended his hand in greeting because I had never done this before". One recommendation, which I believe should be made, therefore, is to urge Indian men to participate more actively in facilitating the integration of their women into the larger society, where the need to do so exists.

Entry into Canadian society is relatively easy for Indian men; it is much more difficult for women. There are many ways in which Indian men may be helpful. Two examples that come to mind immediately, because I have been confronted with them recently are: Indian husbands could encourage, and perhaps initially, escort their wives to English classes, Indian university professors could facilitate the entry of Indian women wishing to return to university by counselling and advising them. Indian women should be encouraged to attend leadership and assertiveness classes offered in the community. More affluent Indians should assume some responsibility in extending their skills, training, and emotional support to less privileged segments of the community. Examples: Indians could volunteer time to teach English to women and children who are deficient in the language, women who are isolated because they have no transport could be visited by women who are more mobile, etc.

Finally, I believe there is a pressing need for more empirical research on the Indian culture, on Indian values and attitudes, Indian experiences, and view of the world. I would urge Indian professionals in the social sciences, in particular, to engage in such endeavours. Knowledge and insight into the culture and it's people, accessible to North Americans, will surely promote a more congenial climate of receptivity and communication.

Cross-Ethnic Support Systems:

I have not addressed myself to potential growth for the Indian community deriving from cross-ethnic contacts and shared group activities, through concerned church groups and other organized groups. My primary focus centres on self-support systems within the Indian community, but cross-ethnic support systems can contribute significantly towards integrating women in particular. In an aggressive, competitive, power-oriented culture, Indian women frequently find themselves relegated to peripheral positions in Canadian group settings. A young woman student at the University of Toronto interviewed on the Mike McManus program said: "I felt like a non-person in the University". Another, the only woman in a local pottery class, I was told by a Canadian colleague, is simply ignored.

People of non-western origin have made impressive adaptations to western culture; the reverse cannot be said of people of western origin. Except for a minority, western people remain relatively uninformed about non-western cultures, philosophies, languages, and religions, adhered to by millions around the globe. In a pluralistic society some compromises, some degree of tolerance, and enlightenment on the part of established Canadians can surely be expected by new Canadians. Moreover, as stated elsewhere (Naidoo, 1976), my study, observation and experience lead me to believe that it is important for minority peoples to retain selected aspects of both old and new values for the wholesome evolution and

integration of the personality. Those values which are perceived by a people as critical to the inner self, to people's sense of identity and personal worth, should be nurtured and preserved for a healthy evolving "new" self, within the host culture. People cannot be expected to, nor should they simply abandon values and philosophies basic to their sense of "being" in too short a period of time. In my perception the gradual evolution in adapting and reconstructing the inner self as people move from home to host culture is a psychologically sounder process than rapid change and abandonment of values that are profoundly meaningful to the inner self. The latter process may well produce disintegration of the inner self with resultant negative features for the minority group itself and the whole culture.

Concluding Comments:

One expression of the "Canadian dream" is the insistence that ethnic differences should be maintained because they give the newcomer in the host country a sense of cultural identity, but also because they enrich the host culture (Greeley, 1971). Maintenance of ethnic differences that contrast too sharply with the host culture, however, does not seem to be conducive to social acceptance. Is multiculturalism then a distant dream? (Bhatnagar, 1976). Is unity in diversity a dream? Perhaps only a spiritual unity is attainable (P.M. Trudeau, Student Conference, Winnipeg, 1977). Will Canada be receptive to varied forms of expression which reflect the diversity of human beings? Will our common humanity be a more binding factor than our external differences? Can the Indian woman with her combined traditional and contemporary sensitivities find her place in this great country of her choice? This is indeed a challenge for the future and for all of us, Canadians.

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Table: 1

DESCRIPTION OF SURVEY SAMPLE

Home Country	# Families	10% Sample	Obtained Sample
India	250	25	55
Pakistan	80	8	12
Bangledesh	10	1	3
Sri Lanka	10	1	4
East Africa	150	15	10*
Guyana	110	11	12
Trinidad	75	8	9
Totals	685	69	105

*under represented

Table: 2

SURVEY SAMPLE BY RELIGION

Home Country	Religion	Frequency	Total
INDIA	Hindu	41	
	Sikh	8	
	Muslim	4	
	Christian	3	
	Jain	1	55
PAKISTAN	Christian	7	
	Muslim	5*	12
BANGLEDESH	Muslim	3	3
SRI LANKA	Christian	4	4
EAST AFRICA	Ismaili] Uganda	5*	
	Ithna-Asheri]	3	
	Hindu (Kenya)	1	
	Muslim (Tanzania)	1	10
GUYANA	Hindu	6	
	Muslim	3	
	Christian	3	12
TRINIDAD	Hindu	2	
	Christian	7	9

*under represented

Table: 3

Sense of Achievement
(selected data)

Women's education & careers outside home - items -	% Agree (traditional)	% Disagree (contemporary)
30. Married women, particularly if they have children, should not expect to have any kind of other career	17.2	82.0
31. Opportunities for training for the professions/life occupations should be more available to men than to women	27.6	71.4
		N = 104

Most satisfying sense of achievement - items -	Mode	% Frequency (Highest)
#5 Activities of equal weight inside & outside the home	Balanced	63.8
#3 Activities mainly inside the home but with some outside activities	Traditional	14.3
		N = 82

		% Frequency
Daydream about playing another role in life or achieving something more in life	very often	17.1
	occassionally	53.3
	almost never	8.6
	never	16.2
		N = 100

Table: 4

Sense of Accomplishment

My sense of accomplishment outside my home can be:

	Mode	% Frequency
1. Completely fulfilled by my husband's work	Traditional	3.8
2. Mostly fulfilled by my husband's work but I need to accomplish something of my own	Vicarious	48.7
3. Fulfilled when each accomplishes equally	Balanced	26.7
4. Mostly fulfilled by own accomplishments but I need to feel my husband is accomplishing something	Direct Contemporary	10.5
5. Completely fulfilled by my own accomplishments		2.9

N = 97

Table: 5

Qualitative Analysis of "Who Am I" Responses

Cue Phrase	Most Frequent Responses	Categorization
1. "I have"	small children good husband	family-centred
2. "I am"	a wife, mother a woman nice, happy, impatient a teacher, typist	family-centred female identity personality traits occupation
3. "I want"	good education for children realize own potential happy family	family education self achievement family-centred
4. "My goals are"	further education happy family life share Indian culture	self-improvement family-centred inter-group relationship

N = 25, Total N = 105

Table: 6

Canadian Perceptions of Indian Women*

Trait Description	Most Frequent Responses
Liked, positive	beauty grace intelligence femininity
Disliked, negative	dirty abrupt customs (dress, "tikka") Indian languages (public/"in company" usage)
Combined positive--negative	quietness, politeness--aloof, unfriendly commitment family--subservience to men

N = 79

* Study in progress -- findings should not be generalized until further data are collected

Table: 7

Analysis of story themes (Naidoo-Dybka, 1977)

Theme	Frequency	% Frequency
1. Anne's happiness	32	17.58
2. Happiness &/or influence of Anne's parents	41	22.52
3. Continuation of career only	57	31.42
4. Combination of career & marriage	18	9.89
5. Career ends after marriage	1	0.05
6. Poverty in Anne's background	6	3.29
7. Anne's contribution to society	18	9.89

Analysis of story themes (Horner's categories, 1975)

Theme	Frequency	% Frequency
1. Fear of social rejection	6	3.29
2. Denial	3	1.64
3. Concern about femininity or normality	0	0.00

Total number of stories = 90